

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01 CU-02 OMB-01 IO-13

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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7072

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

CINCPAC FOR POLAD IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0094

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJ: PEKING UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR DISCUSSES STRUGGLE OVER
RETURN OF TENG

1. REUTERS HAS FROM A PEKING UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR (PROTECT --
REUTERS IS NOT YET CERTAIN WHETHER AND HOW MUCH TO USE INFORMATION)
AN INSIDER'S ACCOUNT OF THE STRUGGLE OVER THE RETURN OF TENG
HSIAO-PING.

2. ACCORDING TO THE PROFESSOR, THE DISPUTE RAGES AS MUCH OVER AN
ASSESSMENT OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AS OVER THE POSITION TO
BE GIVEN TENG. IN EARLY 1975, TENG WAS SUPPOSEDLY TASKED BY
MAO TO PREPARE A REPORT ASSESSING THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CULTURAL
REVOLUTION; MAO HIMSELF ALLOWED THAT HE SAW THE RESULTS AS
70 PERCENT POSITIVE, 30 PERCENT NEGATIVE. BUT TENG'S ULTIMATE
REPORT, PREPARED IN DRAFT DURING JULY-AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1975,
TOOK VIOLENT EXCEPTION TO THE CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY.
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WHEN IT WAS PRESENTED TO THE POLITBURO, THE GANG OF FOUR -- AND
PERHAPS OTHERS -- OBJECTED. PERHAPS SENSING A CONSTITUENCY
IN THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS WHO BENEFITTED FROM THE POST-CULTURAL
REVOLUTION INNOVATIONS IN EDUCATION, THE RADICAL GANG OF FOUR
PEGGED THEIR ATTACK AGAINST TENG TO THE ISSUE OF EDUCATION. IN
THIS THEY WON CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT, INCLUDING THAT OF
CHAIRMAN MAO; AS A RESULT TENG WAS ULTIMATELY REMOVED. TO

BRING TENG BACK NOW, THEREFORE, WOULD TACITLY SIGNAL A REPUDIATION OF THE ENTIRE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, THE NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN PARTICULAR, AND MAO HIMSELF. TO DATE THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN UNABLE TO HIT ON A FORMULA FOR SIDESTEPPING THIS PROBLEM IN A CONVINCING MANNER. HENCE THE DELAY OVER TENG'S RETURN.

3. THE PROFESSOR OFFERED OTHER OBSERVATIONS AS FOLLOW:

--WU TEH WAS NEVER A CHARTER MEMBER OF THE GANG OF FOUR; IN FACT THAT "AWFUL WOMAN HSIEH CHING-YI" IS ON RECORD AS DECLARING THAT "WU TEH WON'T DO ANYTHING FOR US" (I.E. THE RADICALS). WU'S REAL PROBLEMS STEM FROM HIS USE OF THE TERM "COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY" TO CHARACTERIZE THE TIENANMEN INCIDENT. MANY CRITICIZE WU FOR ATTEMPTING TO SAVE HIS OWN NECK IN A PERIOD OF POLITICAL CONFUSION, BUT NONE REGARD HIM AS A SUPPORTER OF GANG OF FOUR POLICIES.

--CHANG TIEH-SHENG WAS PLACED UNDER ARREST AND HAS BEEN PUT ON TRIAL FOR COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY.

--DURING 1975 AND 1976 THERE WAS UNREST IN 12 PROVINCES. TROUBLE CONTINUES IN CHENGCHOW, SZECHWAN, FUKIEN, AND "POSSIBLY" CHEKIANG. IN SZECHWAN THE ROOT OF THE TROUBLE IS THE SUCCESSFUL EFFORT BY THE GANG OF FOUR TO INFILTRATE THEIR SUPPORTERS INTO MID-LEVEL CADRE POSITIONS IN ORDER TO REDUCE TENG'S INFLUENCE.

--MAO YUAN-HSIN WAS BROUGHT UP BY CHIANG CHING AND ADDRESSED HER AS "MAMA." SUBSEQUENTLY HE BECAME THE GO-BETWEEN FOR CHIANG CHING AND MAO, ULTIMATELY ARROGATING TO HIMSELF THE RIGHT TO CONVEY MAO'S DIRECTIVES. THERE IS STRONG SUSPICION THAT HE TAMPERED WITH THESE.

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GATES

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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